

## Message Text

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EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM LONDON DATED NOVEMBER 11, 1977 SENT  
SECSTATE WASHDC INFO BONN, PARIS, ADDIS ABABA, MOGADISCIO,  
LAGOS, JIDDA, CAIRO IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

S E C R E T LONDON 18627

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: ET, SO, PDEV, XA, UK, GW, FR  
SUBJECT: SECOND FOUR-POWER CONSULTATION ON THE HORN OF  
AFRICA

BEGIN SUMMARY: FOUR-POWER REPRESENTATIVES HELD SECOND  
MEETING IN LONDON NOV. 10 TO DISCUSS COORDINATED POSI-  
TION ON OGADEN DISPUTE. THEY CONCLUDED A) TIME WAS NOT  
RIPE FOR WESTERN MEDIATION EFFORT OR UN RESOLUTION; B)  
WITH MASSIVE SOVIET ARMS ASSISTANCE ETHIOPIA WOULD RE-  
GAIN MILITARY INITIATIVE AND SOVIETS WOULD VERY LIKELY  
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BE ABLE TO MEDIATE SETTLEMENT AND GAIN SUBSTANTIAL  
INFLUENCE IN HORN; C) DESPITE THIS OMINOUS SITUATION  
NONE OF FOUR POWERS WAS PREPARED TO BECOME INVOLVED BY  
SUPPLYING ARMS TO SOMALIA DIRECTLY OR THROUGH ARABS;  
D) QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS ON HORN SHOULD CONTINUE.  
END SUMMARY.

1. PRESENT WRE UK ASSISTANT UNDERSECRETARY PHILIP MANSFIELD, FRENCH DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AND MALGACHE AFFAIRS GUY GEORGI, GERMAN ASSISTANT SECRETARY HELMUT MULLER, AND US DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY WILLIAM HARROP. REPRESENTATIVES AGREED THAT MILITARY SITUATION WAS AT PRESENT AT LULL, BUT THAT IN LONGER TERM, PROBABLY AFTER 6 MONTHS, ETHIOPIANS WOULD ABSORB SOVIET WEAPONS AND LIKELY BE ABLE TO MOUNT EFFECTIVE COUNTER-ATTACK. GEORGI SAID FRENCH THOUGHT ETHIOPIANS WOULD NOT ATTACK INTO SOUTHERN OGADEN; INSTEAD THEY WOULD DRIVE SOMALIS BACK FROM RAIL LINE SO AS TO SECURE THEIR COMMUNICATIONS WITH DJIBOUTI, AND THEN THREATEN NORTHERN SOMALIA. WITH SUCH PROSPECTS, SOMALIA AND HER ARAB PATRONS WERE IN DESPERATE NEED FOR ACCESS TO WESTERN ARMS. WITH NO POWER ABLE TO MEET THE NEED, THE SOMALIS WOULD HAVE NO OPTION BUT TO PERMIT THE SOVIETS TO ARBITRATE THE DISPUTE. THIS WAS DILEMMA FACING WEST IN TRYING TO ACHIEVE MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF REDUCING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AREA.

2. GEORGI DESCRIBED EARLIER DECISION TO FURNISH 15,000 RIFLES AND OTHER LIGHT ARMS AS ONE NOT RETRACTED BY FRANCE. SOMALIS, HOWEVER, REJECTED THIS MODEST OFFER, AND INSTEAD INSISTENTLY PRESSED FOR LARGE SCALE SOPHISTICATED WESTERN MILITARY SUPPLIES. FRENCH COULD NOT AGREE. SAUDI ARABIA WAS PREPARED TO FINANC ARMS FOR  
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SOMALIS, BUT TO OBTAIN ARMS SAUDIS COULD ONLY COME TO WEST. THEY HAD NOT, HOWEVER, COME TO FRENCH, GEORGI SAID. WHEN ASKED, GEORGI SAID HE DID NOT KNOW HOW FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD REACT IF IT LEARNED THAT FRENCH ARMS BEING SOLD TO THIRD PARTY WERE DESTINED FOR SOMALIA.

3. MULLER NOTED THAT SIAD HAD ASKED GERMANY FOR UNDEFINED "SECURITY GUARANTEE". FRG COULD NOT PROVIDE SUCH A GUARANTEE NOR URG OTHER POWERS TO DO SO. MULLER THOUGHT FRG WOULD TRY TO IGNORE SOMALI REQUEST; IF FORCED TO REPLY, WOULD PROBABLY PROTEST THAT FRG DID NOT WANT TO TAKE SIDES IN DISPUTE, AND URGE NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. FRG WISHED TO RTAIN ITS LINES TO BOTH ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA. ETHIOPIANS HAD ACCUSED FRG OF SUPPLYING ARMS TO SOMALIA SUBSEQUENT TO HIJACKING INCIDENT; FRG HAD NO INTENTION OF SUPPLYING ARMS TO EITHER SIDE.

4. REPRESENTATIVES COMPARED THEIR SOUNDINGS OF AFRICAN AND ARAB GOVERNMENTS ON USEFULNESS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AND/OR WESTERN INITIATIVE. FRG CONSULTATIONS

STILL NOT COMPLETED. RESULTS WERE MIXED, WITH LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE TIME WAS NOT YET RIPE, BUT THAT POWERS SHOULD WATCH THE SITUATION CLOSELY FOR OPPORTUNITY TO PROMOTE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION MIGHT BE DESIRABLE LATER. IF MILITARY SITUATION BECAME DESPERATE FOR SOMALIA, ARABS MIGHT WANT TO TURN TO UN. MEANWHILE, UK REPRESENTATIVE BELIEVED POWERS SHOULD CONSIDER POSSIBLE ELEMENTS OF FEDERAL SOLUTION WHICH WOULD PRESERVE ETHIOPIAN SOVEREIGNTY WHILE RECOGNIZING SPECIAL CHARACTER OF OGADEN SOMALI REGION, AND SUCH ARRANGEMENTS WERE DISCUSSED.

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5. AS IN PAST, UK REPRESENTATIVE EXPRESSED SPECIAL CONCERN OVER KENYA/SOMALI TENSION. IT WAS AGREED THAT POWERS WOULD TAKE APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS TO PRESS SOMALIA FOR RECOGNITION OF SOMALI/KENYA FRONTIERS AND PRESS KENYAN GOVERNMENT NOT TO OVER-REACT TO SITUATION IN MANNER LIKELY TO EXACERBATE LONGER-TERM SOMALI/KENYAN RELATIONS.

6. REPRESENTATIVES AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC AID TO SOMALIA IN ABSENCE OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. GERMANY, WHILE NOT WANTING TO GIVE IMPRESSION OF REWARDING SOMALIA FOR COOPERATION IN RECENT HIJACKING, WILL INCREASE CAPITAL AID IN 1978 FROM 12 TO 20 OR 25 MILLION DM AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FROM 6 TO 8 MILLION DM. GERMANS HAVE INFORMED ETHIOPIANS OF THIS INCREASE AND HAVE RECEIVED EXPRESSIONS OF UNDERSTANDING. GERMANY WILL CONTINUE ITS LONG-STANDING PROGRAM OF PROVIDING POLICE EQUIPMENT FOR BOTH SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA. FRENCH SAID THEY WERE PROVIDING SMALL MEDICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. UK IS PROVIDING MODEST CAPITAL AID TO SUGAR INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT. US CURRENTLY PROJECTS ABOUT 4 MILLION IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, AND UP TO 12 MILLION IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF FOOD AID, PLUS CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH ICRC AND WHO FOR REFUGEES AND SMALLPOX ERADICATION.

7. FRENCH AND UK PARTICULARLY DESIRED TO CONTINUE THESE CONSULTATIONS AND ALL AGREED TENTATIVELY TO MEET IN JANUARY BY WHICH TIME FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN MILITARY SITUATION WAS LIKELY. IT WAS AGREED THAT GIVEN ITALIAN INTEREST IN HORN, DISCUSSION WITH THEM WOULD BE USEFUL, BUT SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT BILATERALLY ON U.S. SIDE AND FOR OTHERS IN CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN  
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COMMUNITY, STARTING WITH EC NINE MEETING OF POLITICAL  
DIRECTORS IN NOVEMBER.

8. COMMENT: MEETING WAS INCONCLUSIVE WITH AIR OF  
FRUSTRATION AT APPARENT INABILITY OF WESTERN POWERS  
TO INFLUENCE A SITUATION WHICH WAS EVOLVING IN A  
DISTURBING DIRECTION.

BREWSTER UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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